

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS

Pre-U Certificate

**MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2010 question paper  
for the guidance of teachers**

**9769 HISTORY**

**9769/04**

Paper 4 (African and Asian History Outlines, c. 1750–2000),  
maximum raw mark 90

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

- CIE will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

CIE is publishing the mark schemes for the May/June 2010 question papers for most IGCSE, Pre-U, GCE Advanced Level and Advanced Subsidiary Level syllabuses and some Ordinary Level syllabuses.



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*These banding definitions address Assessment Objectives 1, 2 and 4, and should be used in conjunction with the indicative content mark schemes for each question.*

## **Introduction**

- (a) The banding definitions which follow reflect, and must be interpreted within the context of, the following general statement:

Examiners should give their highest marks to candidates who show a ready understanding of the relevant material and a disciplined management of the discussion the question provokes. They should be impressed more by critical judgement, careful discrimination and imaginative handling than by a weight of facts. Credit should be given for evidence of a good historical intelligence and for good use of perhaps unremarkable material rather than for a stereotyped rehearsal of memorised information.

- (b) Examiners should use these banding definitions in combination with the paper-specific mark schemes.
- (c) It should go without saying that any explanation or judgement is strengthened if informed by the use of source material.
- (d) Examiners are also asked to bear in mind, when reading the following, that analysis sufficient for a mark in the highest band may perfectly legitimately be deployed within a chronological framework. Candidates who eschew an explicitly analytical response may well yet be able, by virtue of the very intelligence and pointedness of their selection of elements for a well-sustained and well-grounded account, to provide sufficient implicit analysis to justify a Band 2 mark.
- (e) The Band in which an essay is placed depends on a range of criteria. As a result, not all essays fall obviously into one particular Band. In such cases a 'best-fit' approach should be adopted with any doubt erring on the side of generosity.
- (f) In marking an essay, examiners should first place it in a Band and then fine-tune the mark in terms of how strongly/weakly the demands of the Band have been demonstrated.

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### **Band 1: 25–30**

The answer will be sharply analytical in approach and strongly argued. It will show that the demands of the question have been fully understood and that a conscious and sustained attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. It will be coherent and structured with a clear sense of direction. The focus will be sharp and persistent. Some lack of balance, in that certain aspects are covered less fully or certain arguments deployed less strongly than others, need not preclude a mark in this Band. The material will be wide-ranging and handled with the utmost confidence and a high degree of maturity. Historical explanations will be invariably clear, sharp and well developed and historical concepts fully understood. Where appropriate there will be conscious and successful attempts to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material critically and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. Use of English will be clear and fluent with excellent vocabulary and virtually error-free.

### **Band 2: 19–24**

The answer will be characterised by an analytical and argued approach, although there may be the occasional passage which does not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been very well understood and that a determined attempt has been made to respond to them in appropriate range and depth. The essay will be coherent and clearly structured and its judgements will be effectively supported by accurate and relevant material. Some lack of rigour in the argument and occasional blurred focus may be allowed. Where appropriate there will be a conscious and largely successful attempt to engage with the historiography, to evaluate source material and to demonstrate an awareness of competing interpretations. The material will be wide-ranging, fully understood, confidently deployed and well controlled with high standards of accuracy. Historical explanations will be clear and well developed and there will be a sound understanding of historical concepts and vocabulary. Use of English will be highly competent, clear, generally fluent and largely error-free.

### **Band 3: 13–18**

The answer will attempt an analytical approach, although there will be passages which do not go beyond description or narrative. It will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in large part, and that a conscious attempt has been made to respond to them. There will be an effective focus on the terms of the question and, although in places this may break down, standards of relevance will be generally high. Although it may not be sustained throughout the answer, or always fully supported, there will be a recognisable sense of argument. The material will be clearly understood, with a good range, and organisation will be sound. There will be a conscious attempt to draw conclusions and form judgements and these will be adequately supported. Some understanding of differing and competing interpretations is to be expected and some evaluation of sources may be attempted but probably not in a very sophisticated form. Historical explanations and the use of historical concepts and vocabulary will be generally sound but some lack of understanding is to be expected. Use of English will be competent, clear and largely free of serious errors.

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#### **Band 4: 7–12**

The answer may contain some analysis but descriptive or narrative material will predominate. The essay will show that the demands of the question have been understood, at least in good part, and that some attempt has been made to respond to them. It will be generally coherent with a fair sense of organisation. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be uneven and there will be a measure of irrelevance. There will be some inaccuracies in knowledge, and the range may well be limited with some gaps. Understanding of the material will be generally sound, although there will be some lack of tautness and precision. Explanations will be generally clear although not always convincing or well developed. Some attempt at argument is to be expected but it will lack sufficient support in places and sense of direction may not always be clear. There may be some awareness of differing interpretations and some attempt at evaluating source material but this is not generally to be expected at this level and such skills, where deployed, will be unsophisticated. Some errors of English will be present but written style should be clear although lacking in real fluency.

#### **Band 5: 0–6**

The answers will respond in some measure to the demands of the question but will be very limited in meeting these. Analysis, if it appears at all, will be brief and undeveloped. If an argument is attempted it will be lacking in real coherence, sense of direction, support and rigour. Focus on the exact terms of the question is likely to be very uneven; unsupported generalisations, vagueness and irrelevance are all likely to be on show. Historical knowledge, concepts and vocabulary will be insufficiently understood and there will be inaccuracies. Explanations may be attempted but will be halting and unclear. Where judgements are made they will be largely unsubstantiated whilst investigation of historical problems will be very elementary. Awareness of differing interpretations and the evaluation of sources is not to be expected. The answer may well be fragmentary, slight and even unfinished. Significant errors of spelling, grammar, punctuation and syntax may well hamper a proper understanding of the script.

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### Section 1: North and East Africa

#### 1 To what extent was Italian colonialism in North and East Africa before 1943 motivated by political factors?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. By 1914 Italy had annexed Eritrea and Somalia. It had failed to conquer Ethiopia and had waged a war in Tripoli against the Ottoman Empire. Mussolini conquered Ethiopia and struggled unsuccessfully to defend his African colonial empire against British attacks. The unification in 1861 brought a political desire to be counted a great power and to have a colonial empire in keeping with those of the other great European powers. There were also Italians living in North Africa and the possibility of increased trade, frustrated in Tunisia by France in 1881 establishing a protectorate. Italy managed by agreement with England to exploit its diplomatic position and annex Massawa in Eritrea. One motive was to take advantage of the weakness of the Egyptian regime. Control was also established over the future Italian Somaliland. The desire to control Ethiopia ran through Italian life from 1885 to 1936. What may have begun as a desire to exploit economic resources or establish a strategic presence became after 1896 a matter of honour as Italy was defeated at Adowa. Talk of revenge and also of a new Roman Empire predated Mussolini. Colonies were also a solution to over-population in the South of Italy. Pressure from public opinion and the need for a successful 'cause' may have prompted the conquest of Libya before the First World War. There seems to be more overt political motives by 1935, but both diplomatic and economic factors were significant. Italy had rising unemployment; the political impetus of Fascism had died down and a war would revive it and the seeming courtship of Italy by France and Britain as a counter to Germany seemed to offer likely diplomatic support. There was also the theory of Empire based on Social Darwinism and the need to keep up with Hitler. The weakness of opposition in the region which had allowed the annexation of Jubaland in 1924 was also a factor. In the late 1930s the regime encouraged quite extensive emigration to the colonies – some 300,000 colonists went to East Africa. This suggests some economic motivation.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. There are a number of factors to evaluate – the ideology of empire, certainly present under Crispi but adapted by Mussolini; the economic dimension, encouraged by population growth and economic stagnation in the Mezzogiorno and the desire to control East African oil and North African trade; the strategic reasons – control of the Mediterranean and a desire to balance French and British power; the exploitation of European conflicts and to use Italy's role as a 'risk' factor to advantage and the need to provide relatively unstable regimes at home with cheap victories and a popular cause.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**2 How important were problems caused by Islamic radicalism in Egypt and other North African states after 1980?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The economic restructuring in Algeria promoted a violent suppression of rioting in 1988 which left 500 dead. There was an association by radical Islamic groups of religious and economic discontent given falling oil prices and growing unemployment. The radical FIS won significant gains in the elections of 1990 and 1991. The problem was intense enough for the army to overthrow president Benjedid and to launch a major suppression. In the civil strife that followed before a ceasefire in 1998 possibly 100,000 people were killed and the problem was not resolved by 2000. The changing context of fundamentalism in the world made the problem worse but the considerable resources of the state which opposed Sharia law and social change associated with radical Islamic groups made the likelihood of an overthrow of the regime unlikely. Economic pressure in Egypt made the appeal of radical Islamic politics more attractive after the fall in oil prices and the costs of the war against Israel up to 1979. The assassination of Sadat in 1981 resulted in a growth of authoritarianism supported by the US loans. But restructuring of the economy produced a lowering of living standards on which radicalism fed. The targeting of tourists provided a considerable threat to a major part of Egypt's economy, but as in Algeria the control of the armed forces and the ability to use the power of the state on a large scale prevented much progress among radical groups, which lacked unity and substantial outside support. However by 2000 there were unresolved problems. Tunisia and Morocco suffered less from political violence partly as a result of a more diversified economy (Tunisia) and the granting of political concessions (Morocco). Gadaffi's political radicalism brought problems, but a demonstration of US power and political realism prevented him from maintaining encouragement to radical groups.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How important ...' invites argument and counter-argument. The importance varied between states and in different periods. It could be argued that coupled with economic and social discontent it was of considerable importance in terms of loss of life, destabilisation, driving regimes to greater dictatorial control and repression and endangering vital economic activities. However in terms of being a threat to the regimes themselves or standing much chance against superior state and military force it could be argued that the importance was much less.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**3 How valid is the view that instability in the Sudan since independence has arisen chiefly from ethnic conflicts?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Sudan became independent in 1956. There was a protracted civil war between the Northern-dominated governments representing a largely Arab population and Southern rebels deriving their support from black Africans until 1972 with a series of unstable military governments. War began again in 1983 when President Nimeiry attempted to impose greater control on the South. Religious factors were important with an attempt to impose Sharia law in 1983 and the emergence of the National Islamic Front in 1989. The Christian and animist minority in the South were driven to resistance. There was also political discontent as the Southern SOLA began as a Marxist group. The conflicts were based on racial, religious and regional conflicts. The wars have had considerable economic consequences, but there have been economic causes, as the Northern based governments have been accused of neglecting the economic needs of the region. Economic considerations may be behind the enslavement by Arab raiders from the North and the motivation of poor people to join both Islamic militias and opposition groups. The hostility of the US to what it regarded as a terror state (in 1998 it bombed Khartoum) and the influence of Islamic radicalism on the regime adds an international dimension to explanations of instability.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How valid...' invites a consideration of the relative importance of different sources of conflict – racial, religious, political, economic and also how far foreign influence has played a part.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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#### **4 How is the downfall of the Empire in Ethiopia in 1974 best explained?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The rise of a Marxist-Leninist majority in students and intellectuals and the development of a fervent opposition with a clear political ideology is an important theme. The western education system was a major factor in this. The role of the army is another major factor. The failure of the coup of 1960 led to the polarisation of traditionalist and reforming factions and increased the awareness of the need for economic, politic and social change; the tax system remained burdensome to tenants and political power remained concentrated, The dominance of landowners in the parliament prevented fiscal and economic change, and when a reform plan failed in 1966 there was more discontent. The government despite the creation of a parliament in 1955 rested heavily on the privileged classes. In 1974 the Derg was formed – a committee of reforming army officers. The famine of the early 1970s was blamed on the Emperor and the Derg which had become increasingly powerful formally deposed him. The years before 1974 had seen inflation, droughts and famine.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of prioritising the factors and weighing relative importance will be required – the changing context in which the Empire seemed outdated, immediate economic problems, the failure of an old regime to press on with reforms in tax and landowning; the rise of an ideologically motivated opposition and the role of a radicalised army.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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**5 What difficulties have faced international aid agencies in their attempts to alleviate suffering in the Horn of Africa?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Eritrea has been torn apart by war and in 2000 the UN agencies were appealing for help for 370,000 people hit by war and a further 211,000 affected by drought. In Somalia by 2000 central government was ineffective and violence and instability in the South had made the work of aid agencies nearly impossible. 1997 saw floods followed by prolonged drought and a series of bad harvest that left 1.5 million people without adequate food. The influx of refugees into Mogadishu has created huge problems. The continuing ethnic and religious conflict in the Sudan is an inhibiting factor.

Kenya has experienced serious food supply problems by 2000 with increased prices for maize brought about by lower rainfall – 250,000 were at risk. In Ethiopia the drought problems were affecting over 5m out of 77m by the early C21. The problems might include the sheer scale of the problem; the way that world developments impact on the Horn of Africa; the problems caused to relief agencies by war and the lack of international agreement to curb that war – for example China's relations with Sudan; the lack of inter-governmental support is a factor both internationally and in the region where effective government, for example in Somalia, is minimal. The different strategies and priorities of the agencies and the competing pressure for their resources could be analysed.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Candidates are asked to evaluate the problems and to select the most important difficulty which means evaluating rather than simply listing the problems – is it political in the sense of warfare or the lack of effective central government; or is it just the sheer scale of problems of drought? Does the lack of an overall aim or sufficient backing from governments of world powers with resources to deal with the problem amount to the major difficulty?

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## Section 2: West, Central and Southern Africa

### 6 Assess the view that Britain should bear the chief responsibility for conflicts with the Boers in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Credit analyses of the situation after the Zulu Wars leading to the First Boer War and Gladstone's willingness to reverse the annexation of the Transvaal.

The case against the Boers might centre on their treatment of the Uitlanders, the heavy taxes that Kruger put on the mining industry to please his rural supporters, the control of essential dynamite, water supply and railways meant that the British were charged highly, though the exploitation of the mines depended on British expertise. The denial of political rights to British settlers was a provocation. Given the insensitivity to British interests, the possibility of an anti-British alliance with Germany and the resources that Britain had put into defeating the Boers' African enemies, it could be argued that Kruger was acting in a narrow way that a great power like Britain could not accept over a protracted period. On the other side there is the overwhelming political ambition of Rhodes and the willingness to countenance illegality in the Jameson Raid and the degree of Chamberlain's knowledge and involvement. The treaties with the Boers antedated the discovery of gold and it could be seen (as it indeed was seen in much of Europe) that British motives were not so much the protection of their nationals against unfair discrimination, but to acquire resources and pursue anti-German policies. It could be seen that British actions between 1896 and 1899 were likely to bring about conflict; Chamberlain's imperial ideology could be seen as a vital factor and the reinforcement of British forces seen as provocation. The heavy commitment of British forces and the unscrupulous methods used against Boer women and children could be seen as prolonging and intensifying an unnecessary conflict.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Assess the view...' invites argument and counter-argument and a judgement is invited. There could be reference to past ill-will and either Boer ingratitude and intransigence or Chamberlain's unwillingness to accept a previously agreed status quo on grounds of Britain's needs as a great power and imperialistic ambitions rather than on the justice of the Boer treatment of British nationals.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**7 Why was there so much instability in the Congo after Belgium granted its independence in 1960?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Belgian Congo won independence in June 1960 but there were immediate secessions by Katanga and South Kasai. There was a constitutional crisis between President Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba of the MNC which was exploited by the military chief Mobutu who gained western support. Belgian paratroops helped to murder Lumumba in 1961. Thus the Republic was destabilised from the start. Mobutu took power in 1965 – a one party system opposed to communism with western support emerged, but dependent on repression. He renamed the country Zaire in 1971. As US support lessened Mobutu declared a new constitution in 1990 but opposition built up and he fled in 1997. Mobutu's rule was criticised as corrupt. Confident of US backing, he allowed the army to pillage and presided over inflation. The Rwandan Tutsi-led Patriotic Front government invaded Zaire where perpetrators of the Hutu tribe who had instigated genocide had taken refuge. The Zaire army fell back and Mobutu's opponents ousted him. Though a new Democratic Republic of the Congo was set up, there have been no elections. The effects of an uncontrolled army and weak and corrupt government has affected the country's economy.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Candidates should consider the relative importance of various factors – the colonial legacy; the initial problems when the richest provinces seceded from an artificial union; the loss of Lumumba as a potential unifier; the inability to control the army; tribal rivalry; the support for the dictator Mobutu by the west; the failure to develop economic resources effectively and ongoing corruption and inflation. Foreign invasion and the lack of a democratic tradition might be included.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 8 How successfully did Nkrumah deal with the problems of Ghana?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. In 1951 Nkrumah won the elections while in prison and was released by Britain to head the government Ghana became independent in March 1957. Nkrumah was an advocate of African Socialism and deeply interested in Pan-Africanism. Though relatively advanced, socially and economically, Ghana lacked a strong industrial base and Nkrumah believed this to be essential for true independence from the western capitalist system and its imports. Cocoa, gold, diamonds and manganese had given the country a strong reserve and Nkrumah developed the infrastructure with aid from the USA and the World Bank. The great Akosombo Dam was built in 1965 and agreements with US companies led to a large aluminum smelter. However not all of the projects were successful and falling prices for cocoa led to financial problems by the mid 1960s and curtailing of over ambitious public projects, Ghana relied on supplier credits to finance projects, adding to debt and reliance on the west. Foreign loans became necessary to import essential commodities. It has been argued that Nkrumah bequeathed considerable economic problems as well as improved infrastructure to his successors. Politically, too, there were problems as hardships increased for the cocoa farmers after 1954. Nkrumah resorted more and more to repression of industrial discontent and took special powers to arrest anyone suspected of opposition. He abandoned earlier ideals of industrial democracy and controlled unions. By 1964 he was increasingly remote and the constitutional amendment created a one party state and President for Life. He was overthrown by a military coup in 1966. His high reputation is based on his support for African nationalism, the high ideals of non-aligned African socialism, the establishment of a stable, independent Ghana and the attempt to create a modern industrial state with considerable public works.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How successfully ...' invites argument and counter-argument. Nkrumah established a Republic with a constitution; he convinced the British government that he could rule and he created a unified country. However, ideals and realities were not always congruent and industrial progress was pursued in spite of severe agricultural problems and falling prices and currency reserves. The strains of pushing through policies led to increasing reliance on arbitrary and dictatorial methods. The aims of liberation and self-reliance contradicted increasing dependence on the west. Much depends on whether the early establishment of stable government is outweighed against the reliance on repression.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**9 Account for the ability of the Smith regime in Rhodesia to maintain white supremacy for so long.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Ian Smith was the leader of the self declared independent state of Rhodesia from UDI in 1965 to 1979. His party, the Rhodesian Front, maintained white support and the efforts of black nationalists during the Bush War of 1971–9 were unsuccessful, as was the condemnation of international opinion and UN sanctions. Smith negotiated a settlement in 1979 and the Lancaster House agreements ended white rule with Mugabe becoming leader of Zimbabwe in 1980. Sympathetic governments allowed Rhodesia to evade sanctions and though South Africa did not recognise the country officially, offered support in various ways. Sanctions were not enforced with energy and 'sanction busting companies' were effective. The negotiations between Britain and Ian Smith in 1966 and 1968 were inconclusive. Public opinion and the state of the armed forces did not give Wilson a real military option and South African support strengthened Smith's hand. Smith handled the negotiations cleverly and was sure to offer hopes for development in the 1969 Constitution which undermined opposition. He was helped by an influx of white immigrants in the late 1960s. The Conservative government attempted a settlement but there were no plans to enforce it and not until 1974 did Smith come under real pressure – from the Bush War and from a withdrawal of South African support. The Kissinger Plan of 1976 made it hard for Smith to avoid putting Rhodesia on the road to black rule, but what needs to be considered is why this was so long in coming. Not until 1974 when Mozambique became independent did the military balance tilt against Rhodesia. The lack of investment and the high prices involved in evading sanctions were longer term factors.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. There are a range of explanations to be considered and evaluated. US governments took until 1976 to act decisively, possibly because of fears of communism and Southern Africa and the need to rely on South Africa. British opinion was not united – sections of the British right like the Monday Club backed Smith and in the late 60s and early 70s problems in Ireland and internal problems that brought down the Heath Government were distractions. Smith relied on the reluctance to use force. The South African position did not decisively change until the 1970s and while there was covert support, the Smith regime could survive. The black nationalists were greatly strengthened by Mozambique and faced expert and determined opposition from white forces in the earlier part of the Bush war. The changing world perspectives – with the Civil Rights movement in the USA and more cold war détente might be wider factors. By 1976 Smith seemed more of an anachronism and prevarication meant that the regime was able to hold out at increasing cost as the guerilla war intensified until 1979–80.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**10 How important was the role of the military in any two of the following countries after independence: Nigeria; Rwanda; the Central African Republic?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Nigeria gained independence in 1960 but the imbalance between North and South and the existence of a coalition of religious and regional interests proved difficult and in 1966 there were a series of military coups. The first coup was leftist orientated; when it failed to get support the head of the army was invited to take over who was in turn ousted by a group of Northern officers under General Gowon. A military solution was taken to regional separation and a civil war against breakaway Biafra began in 1967. Gowon himself was overthrown by a military coup. His successor was murdered. A brief civilian rule in 1979 ended in 1984 when Ibrahim Babangida and his troops took power. General Abacha took power in 1993 until his death in 1998. So military coups and reliance on army support dominated political history for most of Nigeria's first 40 years of independence. The army of over 100,000 developed into a highly professional force using equipment from all over the world. Because of the danger of the Federation splitting, the army has been seen as a source of unity and there has been limited development of purely civilian government. After a post-war period of Belgian trusteeship, Rwanda became a Republic in 1960 with Belgium recognising full independence in 1962. There was a bitter history of rivalry, partially engendered by Belgian rulers, between the Hutu and the Tutsi tribes. The Tutsi monarchy, which ended after 1959, was blamed for the country's ills and a quota system limited their jobs and educational opportunities. Genocidal violence reappeared in 1964. The Hutu regime was linked to the Catholic Church and to the West. Military rule came later in Rwanda with General Habyarimana taking power in 1973. Discrimination against the Tutsi continued. The general maintained a one party domination. With economic problems and international pressure for greater democracy the General faced rebel invasion by Tutsi forces in 1990 which led to terrible consequences. The general's plane was shot down in 1994 and he was killed. Military and paramilitary groups took the initiative in intensifying the civil war and massacring Tutsis and their supporters in a genocide. Thus here divergent elements in the country were the background to reliance on military rule and the influence of the army and associated militias intensified in the 1990s as civil war grew more bitter. The Central African Republic was proclaimed in 1958. Starting as a constitutional state, it became a presidential, single party state in 1958 and was taken over by a military coup led by Col Bokassa in 1966 who dissolved parliament and rose to be President for life and then Emperor in 1976. The republic was restored in 1979 by a coup by the former leader Dacko. However military rule was reestablished in 1981 by Gen Kolingba. A return by Bokassa was defeated in 1986. In 1991 there was a period of transition from military rule, but from 1996 army mutinies destabilised the country and UN forces were needed from 1997 to 2000 to keep order.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. The role of the army in these three states seems central but discussion may feature about whether this was more a response to existing problems of regional and tribal rivalry and faltering democratic constitutions imposed by departing colonial powers. With limited traditions of constitutionalism and threats to unity, the army may have been seen as a source of stability, but led to dominant military figures exploiting discontent.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### Section 3: Themes: Africa, c. 1750–2000

#### 11 How significant an impact was made on the society of West Africa by the slave trade after 1750?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The debate is whether real damage was done to West Africa or whether the impact was limited to a few coastal societies. By 1750 sporadic raids had given place to regular commerce. African societies were drawn into it from the C15. The extension of slavery within the West African kingdoms and the slave trade were parallel developments. There is evidence of the opposition in Africa to slavery and the distancing from the trade by members of the West African elites. The drain of human resources and the association of West African kingdoms in the trade had profound effects. The trade drew the West African interior into closer links with Europe. The wealth generated was a major feature in development, for example in Benin. One Nigerian king was horrified at the British ending what was considered a God given trade. The trade may have had the effect of increasing warfare or a means of exporting 'out groups' like criminals, opponents, heretics, the mentally ill. There is a debate about the effects on West Africa of the trade – most of the money went on firearms or alcohol. Guinea's income from trade was very high – muskets, cloth, metals, salt – some might have fed militarism, but there might also have been a general rise in standards of living and expectations. The downside was to divide West African society and promote ethnic conflict, fuelled by new weapons and the prospects of selling captives.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How significant...' requires a judgement and some ability to set the trade's effects into the context of established practice and previous customs invites argument and counter-argument.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 12 Assess the view that the Scramble for Africa was pursued mainly for economic gain.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The extension of direct control by Europeans over every area of Africa except Liberia and Ethiopia between 1880 and 1914 can be seen to have strategic motives. The British took over Egypt partly as protection for their strategic route to India. They were concerned about South Africa partly as a result of fears for German expansion. The ambition of Cape to Cairo was as much to do with prestige and power as pure economic gain. There was also a sense of imperialistic mission as well as concern for markets, raw material or the South African gold. French interests were more overtly commercial but after the defeat of 1871 there were other motives for compensating gains, for example in Madagascar. Tunisia was taken under French protection partly for strategic concerns about Italy's power in the Mediterranean. Italy's concerns in North Africa and East Africa were tied to her wish to exploit the desire of the other powers to have Italy on their side and also as a means of showing Italy's entry into Great Power status following Unification. Financial and economic motives may have played a greater part in King Leopold's Congo colonisation – the exploitation of the rubber was more explicitly linked to money. However his expansion led to Portugal expanding their possessions for fear of losing lands. The motives of Germany's Colonial Association pressure group may have had more economic concerns than those of Bismarck, for whom colonies were taken up as a diplomatic bargaining tool. Expansion was often guided not so much by rational economic considerations at government level but by ad hoc decisions taken by men on the spot.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Assess the view...' invites argument and counter-argument. This question benefits from being tackled thematically rather than by running through various countries. The different motives – ideology, altruism, prestige, international diplomatic advantage, economic gain, the desire to avoid others taking land, to assuage domestic agitations – apply in different degrees to different countries at different times.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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**13 What were the main obstacles to the development of African nationalism before the 1960s?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The creation of African Nationalist groups goes back to such organisations as the Aborigines' Rights protection Society (1897) and the African National Congress of 1912. The sheer size and the diversity of peoples offered huge challenges. The bulk of Africans were rural and communications were often poor, making coordinated nationalist activity a problem. Nationalist movements in individual colonies were hampered by tribal and linguistic divisions and the power of the Imperial European states. With the two World Wars came greater awareness of nationalism and a weakening of the Colonial Empires. And more aspiration to independence than had been the case. The example of Indian independence was an inspiration, but highlighted some of the problems of developing a similar African nationalism. Education was not as widespread and the elite Indian educated class often had no parallel. The type of self government accepted by Britain, say in the 1909 Morley-Minto reforms, found little parallel in Africa, so there was not a substantial group of Africans with experience of working in government. Though the wars weakened the colonisers, they were still powerful and the nationalism of the 'white tribe' in South Africa by bringing in Apartheid showed the weakness of a divided black population. Some features of African colonialism made it hard for nationalist movements to gain strength. The Africans had been given few political rights and lacked political experience. Education had not been developed very much so that an educated awareness of nationalism was lacking. The military resources available to the colonisers were still formidable and repression was effective. Nationalist movements were often weakened by tribal and religious divisions.

The distinction between North Africa and South, West and Central Africa made the growth of Nasser's Arab nationalism something quite distinct from other African national movements. Even when countries were independent, a sense of national worth was often undermined by the reliance on the west for technology, educational support and aid.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. The question asks for a judgement about the relative importance of obstacles and the answer may conclude that this changed over time. For example the sheer power of the Imperial nations' suppression of nationalism might have been more important before 1945. The lack of effective national leaders might have been more significant before the Second World War when American activists like Garvey and du Bois were still seen as key figures before the emergence of strong national leading figures like Nasser or Nkrumah.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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#### **14 How important an impact did the Cold War have on Africa?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. It has been suggested that Africa became a pawn in the struggle between communist and capitalist development models – both of which were Euro – centric. This may have undermined Africa's development as inappropriate models were sometimes adopted, fuelled by aid by competing European states anxious for influence. Ghana's grandiose public works may be a case in point. Cold War rivalries brought about coups backed by East or West; aid led to corruption in some cases; civil wars were exacerbated by aid or by labeling different sides pro- or anti-west. Indigenous knowledge was swept away in the pursuit of central planning or capitalist free enterprise. Both sides sought willing allies which they were prepared to support and fear of altering the balance may have delayed change – for example in South Africa or perpetuated conflict, for example in the Sudan. There is a view that the Cold War 'froze' problems that were the legacy of colonialism – for example artificial borders, issues of territorial adjustments, sustainable economic development, the development of representative government. Foreign intervention or the ability of African elites to play the system and benefit from Cold War rivalry may have weakened the post-colonial development. There are plenty of examples to support this sort of discussion. Nasser suffered from being seen to be too much in Russia's camp. The Chinese support for Sudan perpetuated violence. Distraction by Cold War issues may have delayed a sensible transfer of power in Rhodesia. Lumumba was seen as being pro-Russian in the Congo. America backed dictatorial regimes because they were seen as being anti-Communist. On the other hand, Cold War issues were often peripheral or came into play because of existing divisions and problems, so there is a view that the impact of the Cold War in Africa compared to Asia or Europe was more indirect and less important.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**15 How far has tribalism been a hindrance to the development of African countries after independence?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. This is a broad question and candidates have considerable scope. Tribalism can be seen as a source of communal violence and civil war. It can be seen as a problem where the administration and economic benefits of a country have not been distributed equally. In some cases the international reputation of countries has been compromised by accusations of genocide and ethnic conflict. There have been cases where economic development has been impeded by tribalism. On the other hand tribalism has offered elements of cohesion and stability, allowing continuity of support and there have been examples where tribalism has allowed diversity without compromising development. Better answers will see beyond specific examples to the elements of development and be able to balance their analysis.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How far...' invites argument and counter-argument.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**16 To what extent did the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) achieve the ideals of its founders after 1963?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The original aims were to promote unity and to offer a collective approach from Africa in international affairs; to end colonialism. It aimed to support independent countries and remain outside the Cold War blocs. A Liberation Committee was to assist independence movements. There was to be support of human rights and encouragement for better living standards. Disputes between members were to be settled by negotiation. A permanent HQ was established in Addis Ababa – eventually 53/54 states became members. The OAU ended in 2002. The discussion will centre around whether the OAU failed to achieve these wide ranging goals or should be seen as successful in promoting some unity and some forum for discussion. Critics saw the policy of non-intervention resulting in the OAU watching powerlessly as human rights were infringed and becoming merely a 'club for dictators'. Major civil wars such as that in Nigeria raged with little effective mediation. There were break away groups and the OAU in practice could not prevent influence by other powers, Russia, the USA, China, France. The OAU did aid freedom movements in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. It put pressure on South Africa to end apartheid and set up the African Development Bank, though could not provide the levels of financial support to equal those of Europe and the USA. There was the creation of specialised media, sport, transport, trade union organisations like the Pan-Africa Postal Union and annual Summits. Much depends on how many of the 1963 aims were even possible and judgement might be based on what was achieved rather than the obvious failures.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. There are different views possible about importance – from pointless talking shop, to a body which legitimised tyranny, failed to achieve its aims, lacked effective force to an important forum for many issues, a move towards greater unity and an effective element in the end of white supremacists or colonial regimes which remained in 1963.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## Section 4: China

### 17 Assess the significance of the Boxer Rebellion for China.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Boxer Rebellion came in the wake of the loss of war against Japan and the Treaty of Shimonoseki and the extension of foreign concessions. It has been said that by 1899 China seemed on the point of partition by Japan and the Great Powers. When Christian missionaries became more active local disturbances broke out and an anti-Western movement spread from rural China to Tianjin and Beijing. The significance can be seen in a resurgence of traditional China against change (railways and clocks were particularly hated). It can be seen as a reaction against loss of war against Japan and foreign domination.

The support of the Empress XiXi adds another dimension and its significance can be seen in the alliance of a failing dynasty with populist violence. Out of the humiliation and violence of defeat can be seen another manifestation of Chinese weakness in the face of overseas military power. It can be seen as fostering Japanese ambitions; leading to the downfall of the dynasty and an upsurge of Chinese nationalism. It was an influence on key figures like Sun Yat-sen and Lu Xun. On the other hand, it could be seen as a symptom of longer term trends rather than the major cause of change.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Assess the significance...' invites argument and counter-argument. There is no real narrative but candidates should weigh the significance of the supposed elements of great impact. The arguments for the Boxer rebellion as being a turning-point in the development of modern China is compelling, but it can be seen as more of a symptom of long term decline and loss of power to foreign countries. The War against Japan might be seen as the real turning point. The revolution of 1911 was not as strong an expression of nationalism as was thought and depended a lot on key provincial figures and the renegade Manchu commander Yuan Shi-kai.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## **18 How far were the ideals of Sun Yat-sen achieved by the results of the 1911 Revolution?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Sun's three Principles of the People may be a starting point – Nationalism, Democracy, People's Livelihood. The positive results of 1911 were an end to a dynasty associated with restricting tradition, unable to meet foreign domination or to steer China towards economic progress. A constitution was established; aspirations were spread, there was more to encourage respect from foreign countries. However, the domination by military leaders was not in line with the hopes – first Yuan Shi-kai, then the warlords, then Jiang Jieshi. The fragmentation of the country was not in line with hopes for unity and nationalism; the Japanese 21 demands of 1915 and the disappointments of Versailles revealed how vulnerable China still was to foreign ambitions and how little valued she was by the West; there were considerable limitations on democracy and on the control the elected government had over China. Anti-constitutional parties like the Communists and the refounded GMD dominated. There was more foreign investment, industrial and commercial growth, but the bulk of China remained rural and dominated by landlordism and backward methods. By 1928 there was a firmer central government and the aims for greater national progress did have wider support than, say, in 1900, but the ideals of 1911 had yet to be put into full effect.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How far...' invites argument and counter-argument. The totally bleak picture of warlords, civil conflict, landlordism, foreign domination could be modified by a consideration of how far China had advanced by 1928 from the state she was in by 1900. The existence of a GMD dedicated to progress; the end of the dynasty; greater foreign recognition, for example of China as an ally in the first world war; the development of nationalist/progressive ideas and writings do have to be taken into account.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**19 How far does Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) deserve to be seen as a failure as a political leader in the period 1928 to 1949?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Jiang has had a poor reputation – a dictatorial and paternalistic leader, dominated by financial cliques and his wife and her sisters, offering limited resistance to Japanese assaults in the 1930s, being preoccupied with the violent repression of communism, failing to offer China constitutional government or economic progress which extended beyond some of the cities, being over dependent on foreign capital and support. He has been blamed for failing to offer a viable alternative to the Communists by 1949, by mistreating the peasants in occupied areas, for gross mistreatment of his conscripted soldiers, for inept leadership during the post-1945 campaigns. Efforts to rehabilitate him have pointed to the real attempts to modernise China after 1928, to his skilful handling of dissident elements among provincial chieftains and in the GMD, for his understanding of the threat of Communism, for the heroic image he presented to the world which gave rise to western support. However, the negative reports of the US advisers remain damning about the corruption and weaknesses of Jiang's regime by 1949.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How far' invites argument and counter-argument. There is a debate here and candidates should go beyond a recital of Jiang's weaknesses. Had the Japanese not intervened, there were indications that much greater unity and progress might have been brought about, though the weaknesses that made Mao a more palatable alternative were already present in the early 1930s.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 20 Which did more damage to China: the Great Leap Forward or the Cultural Revolution?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Candidates are invited to consider two destructive developments. Though there are defences possible of the GLF, the consensus is that massive economic disruption brought more hardship than progress. Traditional agricultural practices were swept aside as the new communes were established from 1958. The attempt to create linked industrial centres produced only limited successes. The progress made in agricultural development was severely impeded and estimates of deaths run into millions. The half billion peasants forced into 70,000 communes were expected to go from subsistence to large scale farming without training or support. They were disorientated; failures were severely punished so the power of the state fell heavily on them and they were the victim of pseudo-scientific notions based on discredited theories. Massive famines may well have killed 30 to 50 million. The Cultural Revolution made a more fundamental attack on traditional life, though the death toll was lower. However it was a more protracted period of agony, as a sort of collective hysteria gripped the country between 1966 and 1976. The victims of the Red Guard were made up of every sphere of Chinese life and culture and the country was subjected to the cult of Mao. 12 million young people moved from town to country, often suffering considerable hardships. There was damage done to the arts, science, education, technological progress. It has been said that China was 'a cultural wilderness' by 1976 and had fallen politically into the hands of a clique that used the iconic image of Mao for personal and highly destructive ends. Both phenomena affected huge numbers of people, retarded China's economic progress, affected China's overseas image negatively and caused physical and emotional anguish on a vast scale.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. Certainly no set answer is expected – some may argue that the famine outweighed any other consideration; others that the more fundamental assault on culture, intellectual life, beliefs was in many ways worse, especially as it was more protracted. If a challenge to the underlying assumption that both phenomena were totally destructive is offered, then the arguments should be considered and credited appropriately.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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## 21 Assess the success of China's foreign policy after 1976.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Before 1976 China's foreign policy was seen as being unpredictable and aggressive – giving support to revolutionary groups world wide, clashing with India over borders, continuing hostility to Russia and then establishing an unexpected rapprochement with the USA in the 1970s. After Mao's fall the turn away from revolutionary ideology to the Four Modernisations led to a different emphasis in foreign policy. The aim was to promote economic growth and reduce conflicts, so concessions were made over disputed territories, there was more cooperation with the US and with neighbouring Asian states. Relations with Japan have been soured by Japan's seemingly unrepentant attitude to wartime atrocities, but nevertheless there have been economic agreements dictated by the greater trade with Japan and South Korea. Relations with African countries have been dictated less by ideological matters and more by the need to secure markets and resources. Rather than allow a dispute over expansion in the South China Sea, China came to multilateral agreements with the US and the ASEAN countries in the 1990s. Disputes with Russia have given way to agreements over natural resources and common action against terrorism. China has used the economic power successfully to prevent recognition by her Asian trading partners of an independent Taiwan and Xinjiang.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Assess the success...' invites argument and counter-argument. Much depends on aims. China has not been entirely successful in pursuing its ideological aims or in 'winning' in boundary disputes because of the relegation of these traditional aims to the need for foreign policy to support economic growth. Relations with Japan are not entirely successful as China has not got the apologetic attitude to wartime expansion that nationalist feeling demanded and there are still disputes. Taiwan remains outside China's control, though a successful absorption of Hong Kong was effected. Chinese nationalism is affronted by foreign criticisms of human rights abuses and its domination of Xinjiang. However against this are the real benefits which have followed from a greater multilateralism and the pursuit of more consistent and rational objectives.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## Section 5: The Indian sub-continent and Ceylon/Sri Lanka

### 22 How successful were constitutional and governmental reforms in India before 1945?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Because British rule depended to some extent on alliance with Indian elites, there were Indian advisers on the central and provincial ruling bodies and in 1892 the Indian Councils Act extended and formalised this with Indian members of municipal and district councils being elected by a limited franchise. The major reform before 1914 was the Morley-Minto reforms with election of some Indian members to Legislative Councils. However, many were still appointed and the role of Indians was limited. It could be argued that despite the establishment of a democratic element, the power of the councils and the limitation of membership to upper class English educated Indians made the reforms very meagre and did not stop the discontents expressed after World War I or the growth of Congress from a debating group to a party of protest. The war did lead to British plans for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, announced by Edwin Montagu in 1917. This became the basis for the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms – Government of India Act 1919) which transferred some functions to the provinces to be ruled by a diarchy, with some administration to be in the hands of elected Indian ministers and legislative councils, while some remained under British control. However this reform was undermined by the increase in repression under the Rowlatt bills and the unwillingness to devolve anything involving political control or law and order/defence matters. The total Indian electorate was under 10% of the population. Rural representation was greater than urban to restrict radicalism. Though an advance, the reforms were circumscribed and gave the impression of token concessions and manipulation. Agitation continued and, as Amritsar showed, the spirit of cooperation was lacking among British soldiers and administrators. The major change was the Government of India Act of 1935, setting up independent legislative assemblies in all provinces. There was a bicameral national assembly. The problem was that Congress victories led to some provincial discrimination against Muslims. The plus side was that the Act provided the basis for the future Indian constitution. The war did not produce the unity that might have been expected from the concessions. Gandhi led a Quit India campaign; Bose advocated alliance with Japan. At the height of the war, 1942–3, Britain had to repress a major civil disobedience campaign. There was continued unrest, 1945–6. Congress won big election victories in 1946 and Jinnah's Muslim league began protests. It was clear that constitutional change alone was not a solution.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How successful...' invites argument and counter-argument. The British did not venture to make India a dominion but offered more change than to other non-white parts of the Empire. Before 1914 it could be argued that change was successful in making Britain appear progressive while securing its power. After the war the reforms seem less able to assuage national demands, or after 1935 cope with the religious problems. Nevertheless the 1935 constitution did form the basis of an Indian constitution which has been highly successful.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**23 How convincing is the view that the Partition of India caused more problems than it solved?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. In early 1947 Britain announced the end of the Raj by June 1948. The clear timetable and the very short transition period, in the end accelerated, have been blamed for the violence. There might not have been time to make the ordered and agreed transition to independence which discussed and regulated arrangements to avoid bloodshed. The decision to partition came in June 1947 but drawing clear lines of religion was difficult and was attempted very quickly in areas like the Punjab and Bengal. The Radcliffe commission divided 175,000 sq miles with a population of 88 m people. 14 million people left their homes in a hasty evacuation – communal violence and hardship/disease meant at least 200,000 died and possibly many more – up to a million. There was a long history of conflict. Congress rule in the 1930s had alienated Muslims. The development of Muslim awareness in Jinnah's League and the demand for a separate state had made for political conflict. The Sikhs were determined not to come under Muslim rule. Radcliffe had little knowledge of India and massive decisions were taken under considerable pressure. This led to large enclaves of Muslim/Hindu populations being included in India/Pakistan. Mountbatten, the viceroy, allocated only 50,000 men to the peace keeping. One example is the Chittagong Hills which had a population of 97% non-Muslims but were allocated to Pakistan. The people there were uncertain of boundaries. The uncertainty and rumours added to the air of panic and there was little guidance from any established authority. The British did not provide adequate troops and the new governments were too busy establishing themselves. Ingrained hostility, the history of conflict at least since Congress rule since 1935, the existence of a politicised Muslim majority, perhaps the context of violence in the Punjab and Bengal all may be to blame, but the way in which partition was handled by Britain needs to be considered a major factor. In the longer term, partition left considerable problems for India and Pakistan, particularly over the Kashmir question and prolonged difficulties in the relationship between the two countries. Hindu nationalism could see Muslims as having loyalties to a foreign power and religious tensions remained a constant problem. The partition offered problems with foreign relations. Better answers will see the distinction between long and short-term problems and also see that, given the situation in 1947, partition was seen as the only solution. Some distinction could be made between partition as an idea and the way that it was actually carried out.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How convincing ...' invites argument and counter-argument.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## **24 Has ethnic conflict been the most serious problem facing Ceylon/Sri Lanka since 1948?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Ceylon became independent in 1948. Legacy of British Rule was poor. The British had created a landless rural class from the Kandyan peasants; had imported Indian Tamil labourers and relied on cooperation with the Europeanised Burghers and Sinhalese and Tamil elites from the North. So they left quite a divided country with regional and ethnic conflict likely. The pro-British elites had objected to an extension of the franchise in 1931. These divisions led to disenfranchisement by the ruling UNP party of the Indian Tamils in 1949. There were issues of language and social conflict (general strike 1953). Despite a reforming government led by Solomon Bandaranaike from 1956, who introduced land reform and ended both British bases and English as the official language, tensions between regions, races and classes ran high and hostility from the Tamil minority led to violence in 1958. Bandaranaike was assassinated in 1959. His widow was elected in 1960 and though she reduced conflict with the Tamils, her moderate socialism led to an end to US aid and a right-wing backlash. She overcame a right-wing coup and went on to nationalise oil. By the mid-1960s there were severe economic problems with declining sales of Ceylon's exports tea coffee and rubber and a big population growth which meant the need for more imports. In 1970 there was full independence with the republic of Sri Lanka being formed. The British companies were nationalised and a 5-year plan established. The social reforms were compromised by economic problems brought about by the drought and the oil crisis of 1974. Centralised industrial growth was sluggish. Rival Marxist radicals led a rising in 1971. Politics had become polarised with armed Maoist opposition and militant Tamil nationalism and the emergence of the Tamil Tigers. A conservative backlash in 1977 led to the electoral defeat of the socialist SLPP – the main opposition now became the Tamil separatists. Free market economic policies. Anti Democratic tendencies developed. The country moved away from regular democratic rule under President Jayawardene from 1982. Large scale communal riots broke out in 1983 and the government was widely thought to have been involved. Jayawardene imposed presidential rule under emergency powers. An Indian intervention did not prevent Tamil violence. The president was assassinated by a Tamil Tiger in 1993. The Bandaranaike family emerged again in 1994 with Chandrika becoming president and her mother prime minister. They offered concessions and a ceasefire but by 2000 some 65,000 people had died in a protracted civil war.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Most serious problem...' invites argument and counter-argument. The conflicts with the Tamils may seem to have become the most pressing problem but this has to be seen in the context of growing social/economic conflicts, the difficulty of maintaining democratic government in the face of linguistic divisions; the political conflicts about socialism and then the movement to more free market policies and the problems of foreign intervention – USA and India.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**25 How accurate is the view that the creation of Bangladesh was the result of political misjudgement by successive governments in Pakistan?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The issue here is whether the inherent differences between Bengal and Punjab were so great that some sort of division was inevitable or whether successive governments failed to integrate the country and provoked separation. The unifying factor was religion, but the two regions were geographically divided. There was also the linguistic divide – Bengali and Urdu, which was made the official language. However this could have been overcome. There were economic differences with the jute which was the mainstay of East Pakistan going to India for processing. The inequality of opportunities between East and West in government positions and support for economic development could be analysed. However other nations have overcome economic, linguistic and cultural diversity – for example India itself which arguably had worse problems with religion. Initially the Awami League was not proposing independence but equality of status for Bengali as a language and local autonomy within a federation. The West though, despite being less populous, dominated Pakistan – especially the army, civil service and industrial development. There had been no attempt to equalise revenue allocation. The importance of Kashmir was felt much more keenly in the West than the East. Much may have hinged on President Yahya Khan's handling of the situation which emerged after the 1971 elections which gave the Awami League all the East Pakistan seats in the National Assembly. Initially there were negotiations, but it was the decision to postpone the assembly indefinitely that provoked the immediate crisis. The creation of Bangladesh in 1972 owed a lot to Indian intervention in the war and this could be discussed as a factor. The considerable unity of Bengali separatism under Sheikh Rahman is another point of discussion.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How accurate...' invites argument and counter-argument. Long-term differences; positive leadership in Bengal and factors such as the intervention of India have to be set against the failure of Pakistan to deal with the issues raised by the Awami League and the continuing reliance on government, army and economic management which did not give East Pakistan appropriate participation. This could lead to a discussion of the nature of Pakistan government as a long-term factor but there should be consideration of the short-term policies of Yahya Khan.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**26 To what extent have the economic reforms introduced after 1991 benefited the people of India?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Rao government's great decision to reverse the trend of India's economic policy in 1991 led to India being one of the fastest growing economies in the next ten years with an average 5% growth rate. This was faster than in the previous decade and also resulted in a reduction in poverty. Debt was reduced and balance of payments improved. The reduction of state control and the protection of small scale industry have created more efficient and competitive industry and a growth of foreign investment. But this has not been spread throughout India. Some industries have grown and some regions have been invested in heavily, but some have not. Consumers have been helped by a reduction in duties on imports (though there were still substantial tariffs by 2004 compared to, say, China). Indian companies have attracted foreign investment, restructured and upgraded technology. There was a sharp growth rate up to the mid-1990s, though some falling off after that. There were greater job opportunities but not throughout the range of industry – technology and IT benefited disproportionately. Agriculture did change as well, benefiting from increased export and favourable terms of trade but suffering from lower levels of public investment in irrigation, drainage, rural roads, water management. Generally speaking, the higher income farmers have benefited more than low level producers as they have been able to be more competitive. The move from state planning and investment has left a gap in some areas of national infrastructure, for example electric power and air transport, as private investment did not initially fill the gap left by the withdrawal of the state. Greater urban development, the growth of services and 'soft skills', more investment in high yielding agricultural and industrial enterprises, the freeing of entrepreneurs have brought benefits to employment prospects for those having the skills to take advantage; the growth of the Indian middle classes has been evident and globalisation has led to the expansion abroad and greater opportunities for foreign employment. The withdrawal of the state has brought less benefit to those more dependent on state support, for instance low tech agricultural producers and more backward regions.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'To what extent...' invites argument and counter-argument. The key argument is whether the rapid growth of some sectors of the economy and releasing what some see to be natural entrepreneurial abilities will duplicate the 'Asian Tiger' economic growth or will leave a substantial number of Indians worse off as the state has withdrawn more and more. Certainly different sectors and regions have not benefited equally; those with consumer power have benefited, but there is still a substantial amount of poverty, under employment and poor working conditions.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### Section 6: Japan and Korea

#### 27 How far were the reforms in Japan after the Meiji Restoration motivated by a desire to build Japan's military strength?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Perry's arrival had certainly demonstrated Japan's military vulnerability and an important part of the reforms after 1868 were military and naval modernisation. The interest in expansion in the 50 years after – the war against China, the successes of the Russo-Japanese War and the foothold in Manchuria, the annexation of Korea, the ambitions in Shandong and Siberia and the acquisitions at Versailles – may indicate that military strength as a means of territorial gain was at the heart of the changes. However, that may be to read too much from the later expansionist desires. The changes were wider than purely military. By 1914 Japan had a centralised bureaucracy; a constitution; an improved communication and transport system; an end to feudal Daimyo power; a rapidly growing economy and was much less dependent on European powers. Certain developments of the period – the revival of Shintoism, linked to the Emperor and the growth of the large scale economic concerns, 'the Zaibatsu' were later linked to militarism, but in this period could be seen as part of a national revival which combined modernisation with a desire to maintain traditional cultural values, demonstrating that the latter need not make Japan vulnerable and outdated.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How far...' invites argument and counter-argument. The issue may be one of perspective – because the Meiji period did lead to sustained militarism and expansion, was that its real motivation, or is the desire to escape the problems of an outdated feudal and samurai society, an obscure power sharing between Shogunate and Empire, a highly under-developed economy and a vulnerability to foreign influence more important than merely military growth; or do all these relate quite fundamentally to militarism?

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 28 Assess the importance for Japan of its participation in the First World War.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The acceptance of Japan as a wartime ally following the 1902 treaties confirmed her status gained in so costly a way by the war of 1904–5. It led her to have the pretext for further incursion into China – the occupation of Kiaochow and Shandong and the issuing of the 25 demands. The war boosted the prestige of Japan's armed forces and gained de facto control over German Pacific Islands North of the Equator. It brought expansion into Siberia and the possibility of using hostility to Communist Russia and cooperation with the West to expand into Russian territory. It also brought humiliation, as Japan did not gain the respect and equal treatment at Versailles she deserved. By changing the power balance it brought an end to the British alliance and greater US intervention in the Pacific in the Washington and London conferences. The wider results of the war brought more Japanese economic penetration of European markets in Asia. It weakened the colonial powers in the Pacific and arguably, by contributing to global economic factors such as falling agriculture prices, provided the incentive for an expansionist Greater East Asia programme. Against this a lot of the trends in Japanese development were present before the First World War and some, such as the greater nationalism, the cult of Shintoism, the militarism, the desire for cultural political and economic domination of China had more to do with Chinese weaknesses before and after the 1911 Revolution than the war. Japan's lack of raw materials for the developing economy and her leaders' belief in her god (or rather goddess) driven mission might have dictated developments even without the First World War.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Assess...' here invites a consideration of the importance of the war in changing or confirming developments within Japan compared with other longer term factors. The war might be seen as most important for changing the context of Japan's policies – weakening possible obstacles to expansion, or its importance could be seen more in terms of economic and military development within Japan.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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**29 'An act of supreme misjudgement.' Discuss this view of Japan's decision to start a war against the USA in 1941.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The critics of the attack of December 1941 tended to emerge once it was clear that the gamble had not worked. In the long term, Japanese industry could not compete with the USA, the resources were unequal between the two nations in terms of raw materials, the capacity to produce war material, population and technology. The atomic bombs were a final confirmation that despite Japan's development since 1868 she could not compete with the scientific knowledge and the sheer amount of money taken to develop the bombs. Japan's defences could not meet the huge bombing raids and her ships were defeated by the sheer air resources of the Americans at Midway and then Leyte Gulf. The situation in 1941 was less clear. America was not mobilised for war and divided internally about intervention. There were very long lines of communication between the USA and her Pacific possessions. The resources of the European colonies were easy pickings and with these the Japanese hoped to create such a strong defensive ring that the USA might well consider that the losses would be too great to persist, especially given the likelihood of a two-front war against a highly successful Germany which would split her resources. Japan was a highly motivated country which in the end persisted in fighting and inflicting very heavy losses right until the end. Russia was widely expected to fall to Germany, so a long drain on the resources of her potential German ally was not expected. Had the US carriers been sunk at Pearl Harbor then the US position would have been weaker. So some might conclude that there was some chance of success in 1941 though less so as the war went on. Candidates might argue that given the pressure that the US was exerting and given the needs of the war in China and the distraction of the west in the war against Germany, the element of misjudgement might be exaggerated and that Japan had less choice than has sometimes been assumed. However, it was a huge risk.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Discuss this view...' invites argument and counter-argument. The main discussion will be about 1941–2 probably the last chance of any success in at least getting the US to accept the conquests. After that the defeat in the Solomons and Midway lessened the chances and the naval defeats and the US air supremacy ended any chance.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### 30 Account for Japanese economic growth after 1945.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Factors include: the rapid development of Japan's wartime economy 1937–45 – Eleven of the post-war major car manufacturers came out of the war. Similarly with financial institutions and electrical producers, war-time growth provided the basis for post-war expansion. Then there is US policy which allowed Japan to export to the US without fear of US firms swamping the home market. Japan benefited from low prices of oil and raw materials because of favourable trade agreements by joining GATT. Also the US paid for her military security allowing Japan to avoid heavy military spending. Thirdly the development of large scale cartels and welfare capitalism provided a flourishing domestic market. US advice (The Dodge Plan) helped to reduce inflation. Larger companies provided subsidised housing and health benefits. This made more money available for financing economic growth. There was cooperation between the Japanese bureaucracy and political leaders and corporations to develop an export-led economy and ensure a high investment rate in technology. High domestic savings rates provided a basis for investment and government has played a large role in ensuring investment – from the popular postal savings and also directly from the Ministry of Finance. The state helped the transition from old fashioned coal and textiles to electronics, steel, petrochemicals, vehicles and later computers and biotechnology. The Japan Development Bank was a major turning point and there was control of the inflow and outflow of capital in an alliance between state control and private enterprise. The money has been available because of low spending on direct welfare and defence. There was restricted competition to avoid waste and post-war US anti-monopoly laws were amended after 1953. Large scale Keiretsu dominated economic life (Mitsui, Mitsubishi etc.) Higher profit margins meant greater investment and profitability and employment. The large scale industrial strife that affected some western economies was avoided by cooperation agreements between workers and larger companies after 1960 while smaller companies using low paid workers especially women kept costs low. Social attitudes accepted some sacrifices for an export-led monopolistic high investment post-war economy by paying higher prices for scarcer consumer goods, accepting lower wages and avoiding industrial protest.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Account for...' invites argument and counter-argument. US policies were important, but also restrictive and the anti-cartel legislation was dropped after 1953. The indigenous factors can be argued to have become more important, but the debate is whether they would have been able to take effect without the crucial supply of market opportunities and direct support of an America anxious to sustain Japan as an anti-Communist Far East support.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### 31 To what extent did Kim Il Sung rely on force to maintain control of North Korea?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The debate here is whether North Korea was simply a communist dictatorship dominated by the Kim dynasty relying on repression with Chinese backing, or whether the regime has offered positive benefits. The Communists relied on the monopolisation of power but also offered land reform based on the 'land to the tiller' campaign of 1946. The end of landlordism was a benefit – the imposition of collectivisation after 1954 was less popular. As in Russia, low agricultural prices financed large scale industrial development massively increasing the industrial sector by 1959, which did in turn provide agricultural machinery. As in Russia a large scale propaganda campaign stressing modernisation and greater economic opportunity accompanied these changes. As a respected guerilla leader Kim had army support and the damage brought about by the Korean War was addressed by 3, 5 and 7 Year plans in the 1950s. It was enough to increase education, medical care, housing and food supply. Ideologically a distinct concept of development (self reliance) was stressed. North Korea was to be strong enough to avoid reliance on other nations, even within the Communist world. Kim did not plunge into the dangerous experiments of Mao's Cultural Revolution and offered a strong national identity and economic development as well as relying on suppression of any opposition and a police state. Kim had shown a great deal of repression towards South Korean refugees and when high oil prices hit from 1974 and there was falling demand for the products of North Korea's mining industry, there was less economic success. The gap between living standards and growth between North and South Korea grew; the regime relied far more on military power and personal authority. Kim died in 1994.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'To what extent...' invites argument and counter-argument. Many will see a Stalinist regime forged from two wars, becoming increasingly dictatorial and forcing its people into an outdated mould which fell foul of changing economic conditions and failing to adapt, relying on military and police repression. The counter view is that given the problems of foreign domination (Japanese occupation since 1910 and then the danger of domination either by the US or by China and Russia), Kim engaged national support for a distinctive policy of self-reliance and at least until the 1970s a measure of economic and social progress and modernisation.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### Section 7: South-East Asia

#### 32 Why were colonial powers, including Japan, so anxious to maintain control of South-East Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Netherlands maintained their hold on Indonesia as did the Portuguese in Timor. The US took the Philippines in 1898 from Spain. France took Cochin China in the 1860s, establishing a protectorate over Cambodia in 1863, Annam in 1884 Tonkin in 1884, and forming Indochina in 1887, adding Laos in 1893. Japan moved into Indochina in 1940–41. Japan attacked European colonies in 1941 and established an East Asia Co-Prosperity Zone. After Raffles established Singapore as a trading post in 1819, the British East India Company formed the Straits Settlement in 1826 and it became a colony in 1867, adding Laguna and the Keeling and Christmas Islands. Trade was an initial motivation for colonial expansion and initial control was exercised through commercial companies. However, war and the need to control routes and resources played a role, for example during the Napoleonic Wars, Britain extended control as Holland fell under the control of the French and the Japanese took advantage of war to extend control, a move dominated by its need to have supplies for its China War.

US control came with a war against Spain having its origin in Cuba. Ideology also played a part – with the New Imperialism and the desire to spread ‘civilisation’ and influence – something common to the late nineteenth century Europeans and to Japan, motivated by more than economic concerns in wishing to establish a SE Asian empire. There were strategic considerations, too, with a desire to prevent other nations dominating vital routes. Burma was added to British India for reasons of defence, perhaps more than economic gain. Colonisation reflected internal politics – the French desire to compensate for their defeat by Germany and to satisfy nationalistic public opinion. Also to consider is the desire to exploit weaknesses either among the peoples of SE Asia or by European enemies as in Japan’s exploitation of Europe’s distraction in war against Germany.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. ‘Why...’ invites argument and counter-argument. This is a very big topic and the key skill will be a synoptic approach and the chance to weigh overall factors illustrated from knowledge of expansion rather than attempting to outline that expansion country by country.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### 33 Assess the consequences for Vietnam of the withdrawal of the USA.

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The withdrawal of the US allowed the unification of the country in 1975. There was 're-education' of those who had collaborated and the imposition of the North's socialism throughout the country. There was also collectivisation and a considerable refugee problem. Reconstruction was aided by support from the USSR. However, long term aims of integration and development were not met. In the short term production remained dominated by labour intensive small scale agriculture and there was a failure to produce sufficient food or develop industry. Unification did not bring the benefits expected. Though peace was achieved for a while, the invasion of Cambodia brought retaliation in the form of a Chinese incursion and attacks on the Chinese minority, some of whom tried to flee in boats. In the longer term Vietnam has adapted its communism and opened itself up for foreign investment and from 1995 was a full member of ASEAN. Since 1986, with the policy of Do Moi, there have been free-market reforms, a return to private ownership of farms and businesses. By the late 1990s with a growth rate of 7% and considerable reduction of poverty, Vietnam made up a lot of ground and was able to restore normal trading relations with the USA in 2000 after a 25-year embargo. Initial disadvantages from exclusion from the US market were ended and the country's 30,000 private businesses faced better prospects. Politically, the state as in China, dominated but the end of war reduced the severities of the regime in the North and the corrupt, military-based and US-dominated governments of the South had obviously gone.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Assess' invites argument and counter-argument. The US offered 'freedom' and aid, but also brought corruption and destruction. Those benefiting from a more western urbanised culture, those opposed to communism, property owners and those associated with government obviously suffered heavily from withdrawal. In the short term there was some failure to compensate for the repression and disruption with sustained economic growth, but some may consider that in the long term the country did gain from the post-1986 reforms. Against the growth rates, the globalisation, the freedom to develop economic activity has to be set the continuing power of the state and the lack of any political rights. In placed of cold war divisions, Vietnam is more fully a member of regional economic activity.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**34 Why was it so difficult for Thailand to maintain constitutional government between 1945 and 2000?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. After the domination of the dictatorial and pro-Japanese regime which was overthrown in the wake of Japanese defeat in 1945, the country attempted a parliamentary democracy and was given US aid. However there was instability – the king was murdered in 1946 and the army took power in November 1947 bringing back the wartime dictator General Phibun. The Cold War allowed him to get US support as a counter to communist North Vietnam. As during his previous rule, opponents were repressed. Attempted coups by the ousted democratic leader Pridi. Despite some support by the navy, these had failed by 1951 and the regime abandoned even a pretence at constitutional rule in 1952. With an improving economy, rice exports, US aid and severe repression of opposition, the country (renamed Thailand in 1949) developed. In 1957 a military coup ousted Phibun. Military chiefs backed by the US ruled. There was formal alliance with the US and membership of SEATO. Thai troops helped the US in Vietnam. Closer links with the US brought modernisation, western ideas, bigger cities and different culture. Mass media, western style education and a big population increase transformed the country. However the countryside was left out and discontent spread among the poorer areas creating a peasant revolutionary movement by the 1970s. The military were not addressing key problems of corruption and peasant discontent. In 1968 a constitution was restored though the military still kept control, but a clash between the Assembly and the government led to another coup by the ruler General Thanom. Alarmed by the repression of rural discontent and the reliance on force, the King expressed concern. Student led demonstrations in 1973 grew into such size in October 1973 that repression would have involved mass slaughter. After fighting in the capital the King dismissed the Junta. The rise in oil prices and the dismissal of US forces and the victory of Communism in neighbouring states led to a right wing backlash and the army backed right-wing paramilitary groups which attacked radical students. The army installed a conservative prime minister in 1976. Economic problems and danger of Vietnamese incursion led to a new regime under General Prem in 1980 . There was a return to a form of constitutional rule in 1981 but power rested on alliance between Prem and the King and sections of the army. Greater economic development aided stability until 1986. Factional struggles resulted in another coup in 1991 but its leader was ousted by mass demonstrations in 1992 and parliamentary politics survived the financial crisis of 1997.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Why...' invites argument and counter-argument.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**35 Account for the greater economic growth in Singapore than Malaysia in the late-twentieth century.**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The rise of the Asian Tiger economies has been a major development in South-East Asia, but Singapore has been more successful than Malaysia despite being considerably smaller. It was regarded by 2000 as a first world country, whereas Malaysia was more an emerging market. Malaysia invested less in high tech 'knowledge power' industries and was a commodity-driven economy based on natural resources. Singapore's political structure has been very conducive to business and investment went into marine shipping, finance, IT and trading. Top banks and financial institutions were attracted by stability and favourable opportunities, so foreign investment was greater in Singapore. Since 1965 Malaysia has drifted further from its non-Malay population as there has been a more Islamic society. Singapore's secularism makes it distinctive from its former partner. Singapore enjoyed less political freedom but Malaysia has greater institutionalised discrimination against, for instance, the ethnic Chinese. Singapore has a huge compulsory savings programme which has stimulated investment growth and state-controlled enterprises dominate the stock market to a greater degree and with a greater consequence in attracting investment. Singapore's education policy has produced skilled workers and it encourages soft skills. The development of the port and entrepot trade has played an important role with water fabrication and oil refining. It was in the late twentieth century a good example of a capitalist mixed economy with a regime very intent on a corruption-free stable business environment. The government also promoted overseas investments (\$39 billion by 1998); these elements make it distinct from Malaysia, whose growth has been less dependent on high internal savings managed by a government fund, by direct participation by the state in investment policy. Malaysia made the transition in the 1970s from mining and agriculture to manufacturing and, unlike Singapore, had aid from Japan. Exports rather than processing or finance became the key element. Central planning has been important through five-year plans and government linked companies, and there have been government policies to eradicate poverty and foreign investment. There is an argument that the more flexible government interventions in Singapore have been more successful with less need to subsidise and control prices of essential items. The positive discrimination in favour of Malays which began in the 1970s has no equivalent among the dominant ethnic Chinese in Singapore and has not taken resources. Both countries own and control investment funds. In terms of protecting investors, Malaya has worked hard but has fallen behind Singapore in protecting and facilitating foreign investment. Malaysia was the founding member of the ASEAN free trade area from which Singapore benefits.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Account for...' involves a critical appreciation of the political factors – the determination of Lee Kuan Yew to develop Singapore after the break with Malaysia and to link political stability with the Central Provident Fund to create a benevolent capitalism with limited political opportunities to attract foreign investment; the need to divert fewer resources to positive discrimination for an ethnic group; the fewer political pressures in a smaller country to deal with a persistent poverty problem. The planning models have been based on different political outlooks, with Malaysia looking to a Russian-based model of central planning even in a capitalist context. There are purely economic factors – the greater emphasis on export of products in Malaysia compared to the more lucrative tertiary sector and entrepote processing and perhaps religious factors as Singapore's secularism has provided a different environment than Malaysia's Islamic culture. Education policy is another aspect linked both to political decisions and to cultural outlooks.

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AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.



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### 36 Why was there so much violence in Cambodia under the Pol Pot regime?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Cambodia had been drawn into war in 1965 and the violence of war was linked to violent repression of opposition by Prince Sihanouk. So Saloth Sar (Pol Pot) emerged in a violent and unstable context and his Khymer Rouge waged a ruthless guerilla war. He was influenced by Mao's Cultural Revolution, itself a violently radical movement. The bombing raids by the US between 1969 and 1973 contributed to the atmosphere of violence, claiming 600,000 lives and accompanying a US invasion in 1970. In 1974 the Khymer Rouge established a precedent by destroying the city of Odongk, executing its elites and dispersing its inhabitants. A similar pattern followed when Pnohm Penh fell in 1975. Various categories of people were identified and executed and in the Killing Fields up to 1.5 m people died. The violence turned inward in 1977 when the Khymer Rouge was purged. Violence was externalised with conflict with neighbours in 1977 and in 1978 Vietnam invaded. Even when ousted, Pol Pot maintained an insurgency and to the end sustained violence as a means of control, killing his former ally and his family in 1997. During his trial in 1998 Pol Pot claimed that he was not a violent person and that he had worked to fulfil an ideological mission and then to keep his country independent from Vietnam.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Why...' invites argument and counter-argument. Ideological factors were important – Pol Pot was influenced by Mao's Cultural Revolution and did aim for a total social revolution in which the purity of the country would be restored by ending class barriers and the distinction between town and country. His was to be achieved by direct and rapid means – execution of the bourgeoisie and forced migration. How far this was purely ideological and how far the result of the impact of years of violence and the dislocation produced by the massive US bombing could be discussed. There is also the pathological tendency of Pol, but that does not entirely explain why he was aided by the Khymer Rouge. It also does not explain the violence of foreign policy which related more to concerns about independence and traditional hostility to Vietnam despite common Marxist aims.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### Section 8: Themes: Asia c. 1750–2000

#### 37 Why was the pace of modernisation and change faster in some Asian countries than others in the second half of the nineteenth century?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The classic example is China and Japan, but the rapid industrial military and social development that characterised the Meiji era was not mirrored in Siam. Korea did not develop the strength to prevent annexation by Japan in 1910 and Burma fell prey to annexation by Britain. Regionalism, isolation, technical backwardness, reliance on absolute monarchy with a theocratic flavour, reliance on past achievements were common features, but Japan overcame its problems to a far great extent and pushed through more fundamental changes than the other countries. It might be argued that China's sheer size made this difficult, or the greater isolation of Korea. All countries suffered from closed attitudes – Japan had isolated itself since the seventeenth century, but the shock of European/US arrival produced much greater rates of change in Japan.

This could be explained by the determination of a reforming elite in Japan; it could be explained by its geographical position not allowing a reliance on a remote interior. It could be explained by cultural/religious factors – with Shintoism counteracting the more fatalistic Buddhism or the restrictions of Confucianism. The greater role of militaristic values in Japan with its ronin, daimyo and samurai might explain differences. The persistence of backward looking dynasties in China and Korea can be contrasted with the restoration of direct imperial rule with a more direct and dynamic sense of mission in Japan.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'Why...' involves an evaluation of purely geographical factors – the size of Japan, its island nature, its raw materials, its communications; its awareness of vulnerability to Western sea power – explain the push to modernise, compared with the size of China, its problems in establishing unity because of communications and sheer regional diversity – or is it more cultural/political/tradition that might explain different rates of change?

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### **38 How important was the Second World War in stimulating Asian nationalism?**

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The defeat of the colonial powers in South East Asia by the Japanese in 1940–42 had a profound effect on Asian nationalism. The racial superiority at the heart of the European/US empires was shattered by the successes of the Japanese. Japanese propaganda made the most of the idea of a South East Asia Co-Prosperity Zone, though in practice, one form of foreign domination was replaced by another. Resistance movements to the Japanese through South East Asia influenced the growth of nationalism, even if they were officially communist as in Vietnam. In China itself, Communism was popular because of its record, or supposed record in fighting Japan while the GMD was unpopular because of its continuing links with what were seen as exploitative foreign powers. Thus the rise of the CCP was not necessarily separate from the development of anti-foreign sentiment and the failure of the Nationalists to live up to their ideals. In India, the nationalist movement predated the Second World War and Congress went back earlier than the First World War. The war meant that Britain had to try and engage Indian support by promises of implementation of earlier trends towards self-government. For some British weakness encouraged a pro-Japanese stance and the creation of an anti-British armed force, such as Subhas Chandra Bose. Others supported the 'Quit India' campaign. After the war it became difficult for Britain to resist pressures for change. In former Dutch colonies, pressure for change was encouraged by the war and the USA found it difficult to reestablish its pre-war control over the Philippines. Ironically, the greatest manifestation of Asian nationalism before the war may have been that of Japan and here the war reduced national sentiment, encouraged more international connections and a link with the USA in economic, strategic and cultural-political terms.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Here the judgement will be whether pre-war influences were of equal/greater importance and the war merely weakened the power of the colonisers and the opportunities for greater independence. Many key elements were present before the war – the politicised leaders like Ho Chi Minh and Mao; the establishment of clear nationalist ideals and methods, such as Gandhi's passive resistance or Communist-Nationalist ideologies which encompassed the peasantry; well-established political movements existed before the war in Asia and did not arise mainly as a result of war, which nevertheless helped their development. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How important...' invites argument and counter-argument.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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### 39 Why was Afghanistan so frequently the object of foreign intervention in this period?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The creation of the Durrani empire in the eighteenth century, encompassing a large area including Pakistan in an area where trade routes met different civilizations interacted was a problem for the British who were aware of security implications for India, especially with the spread of Russian internal colonisation. The Afghan wars 1839–42, 1878–80 were part of the 'Great Game' and Afghanistan fell under British influence until gaining independence again in 1919. Borders were hard to establish and police and the North-West Frontier was a crucial if problematic area for British forces. Border problems remained after the withdrawal of Britain from India in 1947 but the area was also of strategic importance to the USSR. The pro-Russian PDPA government in 1978 was an obvious advantage to Russia but Afghanistan was affected by Islamic revivalism and Carter from 1979 decided to support the Mujahedeen. The country then became a focus of late Cold War rivalry. A large scale Russian invasion of 1979 changed the whole interests of different powers in the region. Consistent support for the Mujahedeen by a USA concerned about its strategic interests in the region and seeing the need to protect oil supplies in Asia. For a declining Communism, Afghanistan came to be a symbol of Russia's great power status threatened by internal divisions and poor economic progress. For the USA Russia's standing could be eroded by manipulating religious feeling and using local military opposition. The destabilisation of the region caused problems for neighbouring states, especially Pakistan and ultimately for the USA.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. The changing perspectives here give a chance to compare the elements which led to outside interference and to see ideologies – Christian Imperialism, Russian Communism, Islamic fundamentalism at work; also strategic interests of Raj and Russia; concern for resources; Afghanistan as an element in great power conflict whether Britain and Russia's Great Game or the Cold War conflicts of Russia and the USA.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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**40 How important has the impact of war been in changing relations between Britain and Australia since 1900?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. The Federation of Australia created in 1901 was the basis of later Dominion status. The Statute of Westminster of 1931 confirmed virtual self-government and was adopted by Australia in 1942. In alignment terms the Anzus pact between Australia, New Zealand and the US could be seen as a major realignment towards the USA. The Australia Act of 1986 ended any formal role of Britain in Australian affairs, for example the appeal to the UK Privy Council from Australian courts. A 1990s referendum did not vote for a Republic. So in constitutional terms it could be argued that the First World War confirmed the relationship between the two countries, already established in 1901, by leading indirectly to the greater independence of the Dominions. World War II did not change relations in a formal sense but reoriented Australia towards the USA. The poor performance of Britain in Asia in 1942 shook Australian confidence – especially with the fear of Japanese invasion and was something of a turning point. However, World War was important in more than formal constitutional terms. The assumption that the Empire would follow the motherland in war was ended by the heavy losses of Australian forces in some campaigns, for example Gallipoli, and some feeling after 1918 that outdated English military attitudes had been to blame. Chamberlain was aware that Australia would not automatically rally to Britain in the event of another war with Germany. Britain cultivated Australian leaders rather than making assumptions about automatic support; though Australia took part, there were concerns about the allocation of resources to Pacific defence which were reflected in post-war Australian diplomacy and defence policy. War affected the economic position too, with a long term shift of Australian trade towards Asia and the US as the economic power of Britain changed and European integration partly as a result of war led to changes in trade patterns. However, it could be argued that war was less important here than long term economic change and more recently the growth of the economies of Asia. Cultural links may have been confirmed by the experience of cooperation in two world wars and may account for continuing loyalty to the monarchy. The wars could be linked too to the rise of US influence which has tended to challenge more traditional British-based culture. In the end more immigration and Australia's changing relations with Asia in the later part of the century may be seen as a more important factor than the legacy of war.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How important...' invites argument and counter-argument. War had both a positive and negative effect on Anglo-Australian relationships and its importance relative to general economic growth, globalisation and changing communications give candidates an opportunity to assess the relative importance of the key factor.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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#### **41 How important was economic growth in changing the role of women in Asia after 1945?**

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. In China and then in other Asian countries that underwent political revolution, ideology led the way for change – Mao's famous 'Women hold up half the sky' and in terms of the official support for equality there was change. Economic change in terms of the development of industry and the creation of communal agriculture impacted on women's position as traditional village life was ended with its built in restrictions. So economic change played a part. As post 1976 China led the way for other Asian communist states into more diversified economic life, so opportunities for women developed, having more equality in a post-industrial economy with greater financial sectors and entrepreneurial opportunity. Educational opportunities increased with economic growth. Outside investment and the growth of trade has meant a move from the countryside which has left many Chinese females as main breadwinners as they move to cities. Political change has resulted in more opportunities in party and government. Greater links with the west in the 1990s offered different models for women, again linking economic development with social change. In Asia social factors may have had less impact with traditional attitudes persisting – the one child policy in China since 1975 has resulted in a huge desire to ensure that families have boys; in Singapore traditional values mean few women in politics, and this is true of Malaysia. The strengthening of Islam in some Asian countries has meant restrictions which have counteracted the impact of economic change. In Asia generally women make up half the work force but only 13% have managerial posts and most are concentrated in social areas. However this represents an increase. China's richest person is a woman. Economic growth and a traditional family structure have helped women in some countries, for example in Hong Kong where extended families have enabled working mothers to take advantage of growth and better educational opportunities because other family members look after children. Political developments have affected the opportunities for women – for example in India and Sri Lanka which have had women leaders. The growth of international media culture has been a factor linked to but not entirely the same as economic growth which has affected Asian women – with stronger and more independent role models. So candidates could look at political developments in both the Communist and non-communist world; the impact of changing economic life and the decline of traditional rural culture; the cultural impact of media and especially film and TV.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How important...' invites argument and counter-argument. Many may conclude that economic development underpins much of the change, but this has been linked with political developments whether Communism or post-imperial constitutional growth. Few would argue for a complete transformation, but the question simply asks for an evaluation of change, however circumscribed.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.

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## 42 How successful has Pan-Asian cooperation been since 1945?

Candidates should:

AO1 – present a response to the question which displays accurate and relevant historical knowledge. Analysis and evaluation are required, not a simple narrative of actions and events. Starting with regional security groups emerging from the Cold War such as ANZUS (1951) and SEATO (1954), Pan-Asian cooperation has developed into more of an economic phenomenon with ASEAN (Association of South-East Asia Nations) (1967), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (1989), Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (1992) and the South Asian Association for regional Cooperation (1985) and the Economic Cooperation Organisation (1985). The ASEAN regional forum has a security aim. Criteria for establishing success might be the ability of SE Asia to negotiate successfully with the larger organisations outside the region, such as the EC or the USA; to provide support for countries undergoing internal difficulties on the model of the UN; to promote trade, investment, technical cooperation among members; to create cultural, educational links and SE Asian identity. It may be argued that of all these there has been more success in purely economic agreements, but that has had some political and cultural implications. Since the growth of globalisation in the 1990s, ASEAN has adopted a Free Trade Area and this has helped the development of the SE Asian economy and allowed fruitful negotiations with the USA. However, there was not complete agreement – Malaysia maintained more tariffs than other members, for instance.

AO2 – be able to demonstrate an understanding and awareness of historical concepts, enabling them to present clear, focused and analytical explanations, which are capable of weighing up the relevant and relative factors and approaches and arriving at a well-considered judgement. Attempts to deal with historiography and of differing historical interpretations may well enhance responses but are not required. A sense of context and of change will help in evaluation. 'How successful...' invites argument and counter-argument. This will take the form of setting the rhetoric and aspirations of highly ambitious regional organisations and, in the case of ASEAN, their institutional development, against real world successes. The overwhelming influence of great powers might be set against attempts to balance this by regional organisations. National governments may be argued to follow policies beneficial to themselves when they clash with pan-Asian policies and the impact on political conflicts since 1945 might be argued to be limited. However, the fact that there is economic political and cultural cooperation at all must be set against limitations.

AO3 [not applicable to Outlines]

AO4 – write in a coherent, structured and effective way. The writing should show a sense of both organisation and direction, displaying clarity, balance and – especially in stronger candidates – fluency. Candidates will not be explicitly penalised for specific deficiencies in spelling, punctuation and grammar. However the cumulative effect of substantial problems in this area will inevitably influence judgements concerning the overall clarity and effectiveness of the presentation.